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### THE AMERICAN.

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#### NOTES OF THE WEEK.

THE UNEXPECTED is always happening. The Senate has treated us to a surprise that, we doubt not, is a most acceptable one to the majority of our people. The moneyed interests are displeased, as they ever are at an assertion of American policy; but those whose vision is not cramped by their pockets, or blinded by the tirades of an alien press, are well pleased with the latest move of the Senate. On Monday last, by the closest of votes, the Senate took up for consideration Senator Morgan's resolution declaring the Clayton-Bulwer treaty to be abrogated, and incidentally administered a rebuke to Mr. McKinley's chosen Secretary of State, who opposed the taking up of the resolution with all the force at his command.

The distinguished Senator from Ohio—distinguished rather for the harm he has done than the good he has accomplished—has become a thoroughgoing advocate of everything that is alien to his country's interests. We cannot say that this is surprising; indeed, advocating with no great candor, but with much superciliousness, a financial policy in the interests of aliens, it would have been surprising if he had not become the advocate of political policies equally as alien to our interests. His career has been

marked by great and radical changes in his views, and of late his course has been one of peculiar vacillation. Thirty years ago he was foremost, in the debates precipitated by the efforts of Mr. McCulloch to force a contraction of our currency, in pointing out the evils sure to follow the adoption of such a policy. He depicted in glowing colors the injustice of currency contraction and an appreciating dollar; he showed how a dollar, made by legislation, dishonestly dear, could not fail to scatter poverty and misery, and he set himself against all schemes having in view the violent contraction of our currency. But soon his views underwent violent changes; even while pointing out the evils of contraction he was urging on the Paris Monetary Conference of 1867 the advisability of the adoption by the world of the single gold standard; he was instrumental in putting the demonetization bill of 1873 through Congress—though even after this he spoke in favor of bimetallism—and when, in 1877, he stepped, as Secretary of the Treasury, into Mr. McCulloch's shoes, he lent himself without reserve to the policy of contraction he had condemned.

Thus Mr. Sherman became the advocate of a policy calculated to undermine the prosperity of our producing classes, and to conserve the interests of the creditor classes of Great Britain. He had a care for the interests of aliens, but not of Americans. And having gone thus far, what more natural than that in a mind warped by looking through the financial spectacles of the British creditor classes, regard for the interests of aliens in things political, as well as financial, should take precedence of the interests of our own people? However this may be, we find Mr. Sherman the advocate of those things most pleasing, and, we may infer, most advantageous to our British cousins. Thus of the arbitration treaty that secures to Britain the trial of all disputes before a court partial to Great Britain, we find him the earnest advocate. Thus he opposed Senator Morgan's resolution declaring the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, a treaty securing to Great Britain a joint control over any inter-oceanic canal connecting the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic oceans which we might build, to have lapsed. Thus, too, he opposes our intervention in the Cuban insurrection, denying that the Cuban rebellion has reached that stage that entitles the Republic of Cuba to recognition, although within a year he strenuously urged recognition of the Cuban insurgents as belligerents in language more forcible than polite. But Mr. Sherman's abandonment of things American, and advocacy of things alien to the interests of our people has become very rapid of late.

It is almost half a century since Sir Henry Bulwer and Lord Palmerston drew Mr. Clayton, as Secretary of State under President Taylor, into the signature of the famous treaty that has since borne the name of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. It was ratified by the Senate on July 5, 1850, but without knowledge of the import placed upon the instrument by the British Government. As President Buchanan afterwards put it, the two contracting parties understood the treaty "in senses directly opposite."

It will be remembered that the treaty was drawn up when the country was in a furore of excitement over the gold discoveries in California, and our Pacific territory gave evidence of an unbounded growth. There were no Pacific railroads, indeed the building of such roads was not seriously thought of. To lay a track over two great mountain ranges and across an expanse of desert that seemed boundless was deemed an impossible feat. Communication between the Eastern States and California was practically confined to paths by sea, and the pathway around Cape Horn was tiresome and dangerous. To cut this path short became of prime importance; it was deemed to be almost a necessity in holding within our Union our vast domain west of the Rocky mountains, much of it a recent conquest from Mexico. So attention was drawn to the building of a waterway across the Isthmus of Panama. It was seen that the money for this enterprise was not forthcoming from America, and it was felt, if the canal was to be built, the money must be sought and obtained in England. And it was impelled by this feeling that Mr. Clayton entered into the famous treaty by which a joint control over the canal by Great Britain and the United States was agreed upon, its neutrality guaranteed, and the advantages accruing from the use of such canal secured equally to Great Britain and the United States. In short, the United States was to have no exclusive rights. By thus agreeing to enter into a sort of joint protectorate over the canal with Great Britain, it was hoped British capitalists could be induced to look with favor on the enterprise.

Thus it will be seen that the treaty referred to canal projects at that time in contemplation. It was so understood when it was ratified by the Senate. So, inasmuch as the canal projects contemplated in the treaty have not been carried out, the treaty may fairly be considered to have lapsed for the occasion that called it into being has passed.

BUT there are stronger reasons than this to declare the treaty abrogated. The treaty, as drawn and ratified, provided that neither one nor the other of the contracting parties should obtain or maintain any exclusive control over the Nicaragua Ship Canal then contemplated; that neither should ever erect or maintain fortifications commanding the same, or occupy, fortify, colonize, or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America. This was understood to mean that England should withdraw from Honduras and give up her protectorate over the Mosquito coast. But, instead of carrying out her part of the treaty, Great Britain has maintained her hold on Honduras, and extended her protectorate over the Mosquito Coast. She has maintained her occupation, and proceeded to colonize and exercise dominion over territory contiguous to the proposed canal. By so doing she broke the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, for she has not performed the obligations entered into thereunder. In fact, having never carried out her treaty obligations by evacuating the Mosquito coast, the treaty was never binding on the United States.

It is true that in a supplementary note, Sir Henry Bulwer strove to exempt Honduras and its dependencies from the application of the treaty, strove to put this British territory that the treaty required Britain to evacuate outside the pale of the treaty, and declared that he regarded the treaty as inoperative over this territory. It appears Mr. Clayton assented to the exemption of Honduras from the operations of the treaty, but this supplemental note of Sir Henry Bulwer, materially modifying, as it did, the provisions of the treaty, was never laid before the United States Senate, and when the Senate ratified the treaty it did not ratify it as amended by Sir Henry Bulwer's supplemental note. Therefore, the supplemental agreement between Sir Henry Bulwer and Mr. Clayton never became binding on the United States. The treaty stands as it was ratified, and the plain meaning of the treaty as ratified was that Britain would surrender her protectorate over the Mosquito Coast to the north of the proposed canal.

And as Britain, instead of surrendering this protectorate, has extended her dominion over the Mosquito Coast, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was by that act abrogated.

SUCH being the status of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, the passage of Senator Morgan's resolution declaring it abrogated would be very timely. We might as well serve notice on Great Britain, now as later, that she has by her own act in violating the treaty, absolved us from all obligations under that treaty, and that in future negotiations with Nicaragua and Costa Rica, and in the building of the Nicaraguan canal, we will give it no consideration.

We cannot afford to permit any joint control over the canal; we must build the canal, and operate it. And, building the canal, we cannot afford to give the use of the canal to other peoples on the same terms as we may to our own people. If we tax ourselves for the building of the canal, and it can be built in no other way, we are entitled to gather the advantages accruing from such building. To open the canal to the use of all nations on the same terms as to our own ships, would be equivalent to taxing ourselves for the benefit of the ship owners of foreign countries. We must, as a nation, make the outlay for the building of this canal, and, making this outlay, we will be entitled to reimburse ourselves for it when the canal is completed by charging the ships of other nations more for the use of the canal than we may charge our own.

In other words, we ought to discriminate in the matter of tolls in favor of our own ships. And to insure this, the Government must keep the control of the canal in its own hands; it must not give the control of the canal, and the power to fix tolls, to a corporation. For this, if for no other reason, the Government should build direct, not subsidy a corporation to build the canal.

THE collapse of the steel rail pool gives occasion for much serious reflection. Last year the price of steel rails was fixed by this combination at \$28 a ton. With the coming of the new year the pool price was fixed at \$25. To this pool all the great steel works of the country were parties; to each was allotted a certain percentage of the rail production; for each the pool made a schedule of prices. Thus, by combination, the steel producers put themselves in position where they could dictate prices to the railroads. But hard times have struck the railroads, and they have been obliged to cut down expenses, among other ways by diminishing their purchase of rails for renewals of worn tracks. Add to this the great curtailment of railroad extension, and the consequent diminished demand for rails to lay new lines, and the market for rails became much restricted, and, despite the artificially maintained level of prices, business for the members of the steel pool was not satisfactory.

Prices were high enough to insure a liberal profit if they could only get a market for their rails such as would warrant them in running up to their full capacity. But there was not a market broad enough to go around among the steel rail mills. So the members of the steel pool became dissatisfied, and a secret cutting of prices set in. Whether one of the smaller mills or the Carnegie Company or the Illinois Steel Company started this cut is not quite clear. But that the Carnegie Company was prepared for such a cut cannot be doubted. As soon as the other steel companies seemed likely to secure large orders, consequent on secret cuts in prices, the Carnegie Company broke the pool and announced its intention to cut the price of rails below anyone else. As a result, the price of rails tumbled from \$25 a ton in Pittsburg down to \$15, a fall in the price of rails compared with the pool price of last year of \$13 a ton.

Now, it is clear that if rails can be produced at \$15 a ton, the profits of production at the price maintained by the old pool were enormous. Such a combination is clearly detrimental



of general interests, and this combination was sheltered behind a tariff duty of nearly \$8 a ton. Recent developments seem to show that this protection was not needed; it certainly was not needed if rails can be produced at \$15 a ton, and we are assured the cost of producing rails to the Carnegie Company is but \$12 a ton. Apparently, then, this tariff protection was availed of by the pool to protect monopoly. By domestic combination, the pool, having squelched domestic competition, was enabled to keep up the price of rails to a point just below the price at which rails of foreign manufacture could be laid down in America, and thus pocket the duty of nearly \$8 a ton. Such a protecting of a monopoly that has crushed out domestic competition is a bad blow to the protective system. The steel manufacturers, after such a misuse of the protective system, cannot fairly expect continued tariff protection. The protective system was not made to shelter monopolies, and when duties have been so used they must be cut off. If they are not, the protective system will be discredited and fall to the ground.

WITH the breaking of the pool that has grown rich by holding up the price of steel rails beyond the natural figures, another lesson in monopoly unfolds itself. Half a dozen different companies sharing in this monopoly and, owing to the impoverishment of the railroads, there being too little food to feed upon to satisfy all, a restriction in the number sharing in the monopoly is in order. The biggest monopolist of the pool wants all the profits of monopoly, and so he sets out to get it. To get it, there is but one way, and that is to cut prices and squeeze out the weaker members of the pool. These weaker members being squeezed out, bankrupted, and perhaps their plants bought at wreckage prices by their competitor who set out to ruin them, this competitor will have in himself a monopoly. Instead of a monopoly of a pool there would be the more powerful monopoly of a single man.

Whether this is the ulterior design of the Carnegie Company in cutting prices remains to be seen. But suppose it is. We are told the Carnegie Company is allied with Rockefeller, who has control of the best iron mines of North Michigan. These two interests together have accumulations of capital far in excess of that controlled by the smaller members of the old pool, the Cambria Steel and Iron Company, the Bethlehem Iron Company, the Pennsylvania Steel Company, the Lackawanna Iron and Steel Company and the Illinois Steel Company, which was a quasi member of the pool. What is more, there seems to be no question that the Carnegie Company can produce steel rails cheaper than any of the others. Indeed, \$15 a ton, the price to which the Carnegie Company cut rails, is said to be below the price at which the other steel companies can produce, but within the cost of production at the Carnegie mills by several dollars.

But this advantage conferred by lower cost of production aside, the Carnegie and Rockefeller interests have the whip handle. Having deeper pockets than their competitors, they can enter into cut-throat competition with a certainty of coming out on top. In other words, they can keep up producing rails at a loss longer than their competitors. This being so, if such competition is forced on the smaller members of the old pool they must drop out of the race, bankrupted. And then, their competitors driven to the wall, could the Carnegie and Rockefeller interests recoup themselves rapidly for their losses made in selling rails below cost of production. With a monopoly of the market they could raise prices until they could reap monopoly profits. And then what would they have gained by the war? Just this. Instead of getting but a share of the profits derived from monopoly, they would get the whole. This is what they would gain by subjecting themselves to a temporary loss and driving their competitors to the wall. They could well afford to bear the temporary loss.

But there is one thing that will stand in the way of the

success of their plans. The course they are taking is throwing out in bold relief the oppression of the steel monopoly, past and to be anticipated. The result will be they will not find a customs tariff in the future behind which to build up monopoly, for the tariff on steel rails has been shown to be not the fosterer of domestic competition, but the breeder of domestic monopoly.

THE handling of the wool schedule in the new tariff bill is giving Mr. Dingley and his associates much difficulty. There is war between the growers of wool and the manufacturers of woollens, and it is being made on a plane that brings much discredit to the manufacturers. They want high duties on woollen manufactures, and they are ready to concede a measure of protection to the wool-growers. But why? Not because they want to see the wool grower protected, but because they must give the wool-growers protection to get protection for themselves. They must give the wool-growers protection, or the wool-growers will not give them protection. Thus the protective system is demeaned to the low level of barter, tariff duties on woollens being bought with tariff duties on wool.

The trouble is over the agreement on the price to be paid the wool-raiser, that is, the rate of duties on wools to be conceded him in return for his support of the woollen schedule wanted by manufacturers. And into this trouble is injected a very ugly feature. The rates the woollen manufacturers are ready to concede on wool are not so unsatisfactorily low, but they are arranged so as to make possible their evasion by undervaluations and false classifications of the wools imported. It was from just such evasion that the growers of wool suffered under the McKinley tariff. Now they are on their guard against it, and the insistence of the manufacturers on the same sort of a loose classification leaves a bad taste. The schedule demanded by the wool-growers is simplicity itself, 12 cents a pound on clothing wools, and 8 cents a pound on carpet wools. In such a schedule there would be few loopholes, not much room for evasion. The only possible evasion would be a classification of low-grade clothing wools as carpet wools. But even so, the duty would be considerable and the protection ample.

Now, the schedule offered by the woollen manufacturers gives full play for undervaluations and false classifications. To begin with, clothing wools are divided into two classes, and each class subdivided into two sub-classes by a line of values. So, also, are carpet wools divided into two classes, according to valuation. The duty proposed for Class I of clothing wools is 8 cents a pound on wools of less value than 16 cents a pound, and 10 cents a pound on wools of over that value. On Class II the duty proposed is 9 and 11 cents, with the same dividing line of values, and on carpet wools the proposed duty is 32 per cent. ad valorem on wools of less value than 13 cents, and 50 per cent. on wools of over that value. Thus it is evident how a false classification and false valuation of clothing wools would make possible the evasion of the higher rates of duty on large quantities of wool, and how, where low-grade clothing wools could be classified and passed as carpet wools—as large quantities were under the McKinley bill—the duty could be cut down one-half.

In short, the manufacturers' schedule for wools bears the impress of giving more protection than it really would. It is a game of deception at which the wool-growers take offense. It is a rock that may split the already insufficient Republican vote in the Senate. It was because of unfair dealing with the wool-growers that Mr. Carter, of Montana, voted against the Dingley bill a year ago. Perhaps he will have occasion to vote against the new Dingley bill on the same ground.

THIS dispute among the wool-growers and woollen manufacturers has led to not a little acrimonious discussion in the Republican metropolitan press, the wool-growers almost invariably being held up as in the wrong. We hear warnings against the

making of extreme demands. We are gravely told that rates must be conformed to existing conditions. This is what the *Philadelphia Press* tells us. In other words, rates must be conformed to low wages based on the existing low level of prices. But if the aim of a protective tariff is not to better existing conditions what is its aim? And if we calculate a fair measure of protection on the present low rate of wages and prices how can any improvement in wages and prices be expected? To simply impose a tariff duty sufficient to make good the difference in the cost of production, that is, the difference between the wages paid in production in the United States and England or Germany or Austria, will not make possible the payment of higher wages. And without higher wages there will come no betterment in conditions. We cannot shake off industrial stagnation by a tariff that recognizes and is based on present deplorable conditions. It is a poor argument to say that because we are suffering from hard times we must have a hard-time tariff.

SOME Republicans are building great hopes of the early passage of a tariff bill on some recent interviews of Democratic Senators. They are building great hopes on very little foundation. Senator Jones, of Arkansas, is quoted as saying that "we (the Democrats) do not propose to throw any unnecessary obstacles in the way of the Republicans to prevent their putting their plans into execution;" but to this he adds, "of course, we propose to show the flaws in their legislation, as they appear to us." In other words, he is not going to speak interminably, and rethrash old thrashed straw for the purpose of delaying a vote. When the vote comes he will, of course, vote against the tariff. Senator Morgan, of Alabama, speaks in the same vein about letting the Republicans have their way. "Of course," he adds, "we surrender none of our convictions." And so it is with Senator Bacon, of Georgia. "We will throw no captious or needless opposition in the way of the Republicans to prevent their enacting legislation which they say will bring needed reform."

All such sayings are in accord with common sense. We do not know of any inclination to debate the tariff bill factiously for the purpose of prolonging the debate interminably and talking the bill to death, as Mr. Quay, after voting with the Democrats and preventing the shelving of the Wilson tariff, set out to do with that measure in the summer of 1894. The Democrats will debate the bill from the free trade standpoint, and show that it is from a false financial system, not a low tariff, that the country suffers. So, we fancy, the Silver Protectionists will debate the measure in the same spirit, but from a protectionist standpoint, showing how utterly futile a protective tariff must be unless joined with bimetallism, and after due debate and elucidation of their position, and a showing up of the absurdity of the position of the Republicans striving to lift prices by a high tariff while pulling them down with an appreciating dollar, they will offer an amendment providing for free silver coinage. Then will come the vote on this amendment. There is no reason why the Silver Protectionists should want to delay it. If there is delay, it is far more likely to come from the Republicans who, in the minority, may hang on to a forlorn hope of getting the three or four needed votes they have not got. Coming to a vote, this amendment may be expected to be carried by a union of Democratic, Silver Protectionist and Populist votes. And then what will the Republicans do with the bill in its amended shape? They can have a vote on it any time they want, and if they will vote for it they can pass it. If they vote against they can defeat it, and thus end protective tariff legislation in the Fifty-fifth Congress.

The trouble the Republicans will have in the Senate with their monopoly tariff will not arise out of any difficulty in bringing the measure to a vote. It is a lack of votes that will trouble them, not too much talk.

LAST WEEK New York experienced a considerable snowfall which was not unseasonable. The Street Cleaning Department at once made preparations to cart it off the streets and dump it into the Hudson. Neither in this, any more than in the fall of snow, do we find anything unusual or worthy of comment. Snow may be expected to fall in New York in February, and when it does it is usual for the Street Cleaning Department to put it in the Hudson. But in the cleaning up of this snow storm we do find something unusual. We find something that is positively startling. As soon as the snow ceased falling the contractors got out on the streets with shovels, hunting hands. And then commenced a rush for those shovels,—so unusual has it become to see the shovel seeking the man,—the like of which had never before been seen. To get possession of those shovels were free fights, incipient riots, which had to be quelled by the police. Think of it! In the streets of New York men fighting, not for bread, but the chance to earn bread.

But there is a side that speaks even more silently and voluminously of dire distress than does the mere fighting for work. The strong men thrust the weak aside, something we do not often see. It is more common to see the strong stand aside for the weak among the honest toilers of our cities. Only those who habitually prey on others' labor ruthlessly and ceaselessly trample on the weak. But here in New York we saw charity, compassion for weaker toilers, thrust aside. What did it mean? That the strong men were fighting to take the bread from the mouths of the weak? No; it meant that they were fighting for weaker souls, for more helpless mouths than the weak laborers they thrust aside. They were fighting, not for themselves, but for bread for their wives and children. These scenes in New York tell us of starving families, of self-reliant workmen who would rather starve than beg.

THE earnings of American railroads for January show a decrease of 8 per cent. as compared to January of last year. The Mexican railways show increased earnings of more than 18 per cent. over January, 1896. These are figures collated by *Bradstreet's*. They indicate a growth of trade in Mexico, a falling off of trade in the United States. And a growth in trade means prosperity, and a falling off in trade depression. So these figures mean just this: Mexico, under the silver standard, is prosperous; the United States, under the gold standard, is depressed.

FOR its size the island of Crete can give the island of Cuba ever so many points and then beat it as a disturber of the world's peace. Crete is 160 miles long, with an average breadth of 20 miles, and Cuba is 730 miles long and about 80 broad. Both have mixed and antagonistic populations, that of Cuba being about 1,500,000, while the people of Crete number less, probably, than 300,000. What little time they can spare from their favorite occupations, religious squabbling and secular fighting, they devote to lazy husbandry. The fertile soil yields oranges and lemons enough to supply the markets of Mohammedan Constantinople and Christian Greece, besides apples and pears, mulberries and many other fruits besides the vine. The wines of Crete used to be in high favor, but whether they got soured by the handling of the rancid-souled natives or from want of proper attention, they lost their popularity. Tobacco and cotton grow well in the island, but politics have more fascination for the Cretans than trade profits. Since 1640 it has been under Turkish rule, varied with a few insurrections, to relieve the monotony of alternate local butcheries of Christian by Mohammedan natives and *vice versa*. Bad as its state always is, it might be worse if given over to the sole control of either element within it. It remains to be seen whether Greek occupation will bring order out of chaos; whether under Greek rule Mohammedan and Greek can live in accord, or whether the Greek occupation



means the expatriation, if not extermination, of the Turkish population. It looks from the outside like a case of survival of the fittest, and this time the Turk is the under dog. He can scarcely expect mercy from those he has oppressed.

NEITHER in the case of Crete nor Cuba have the American people been in possession of evidence sufficiently complete and unbiased on which to base a judicial opinion. There are mysterious inactivities on both the Cuban and the royalist sides which no correspondent has yet penetrated. A guerilla warfare is necessarily difficult to understand from the outside. What is less easy to excuse is the exceedingly scrappy nature of the information we get about the organized insurgent government, its stability, its authority, its doings and the prospects of its continuance. It behooves our statesmen to fill these gaps in Cuban news, so that they may act knowingly, and no injustice done to either Spaniard or Cuban. With respect to the future of the Cretans there is good reason to surmise that Turkey knows more of the intention of the Powers than is generally supposed. It may even transpire that the present crisis is only the third act in regular order of a pretty drama, plotted by a combination of authors. Until events prove otherwise, there is room for the belief that the Sublime Porte would chuckle in its sleeve if, without undue humiliation, it can see Crete transferred to Greece, already burdened with an unbearable load.

LOCAL elections took place in Philadelphia this week of so insipid a sort as to elicit only this editorial comment in a leading Republican daily:

"All the interest that has been excited in the result is confined to a few wards, not much more than half a dozen, and this is wholly of a factional character. One faction seeks to retain control and the other seeks to dislodge it. The public has not been very much considered in any case, and in most cases not at all. It is, to speak with entire frankness, a struggle between one boss system and another. In such a contest the general public can have very small concern."

A more deplorable demonstration of journalistic paralysis there could not be than the last sentence in this quotation. Dummy candidates dance the jig of political marionettes at the wire-pulling of their bosses, public honor is crushed, public interests are bought and sold like gambling chips, the public itself is hoodwinked, and the press, the self-boasted guardian of public rights, turns aside to its counting room with a wink and a shrug: "in such a contest the general public can have very small concern." But they will have, one of these days, in spite of an opiate press.

THERE is a growing disposition to criticize the system of charity organization, which has for some years had a fair trial. There has always been, and probably always will be, considerable waste in the bestowal of charity on any system, and when there is no system, it simply means demoralization instead of radical help. The argument of the organizations has been that it is worth paying one dollar out of ten to secure the wisest administration of the other nine, and there is much force in it. But how if the hired administrators do their work perfunctorily, or harshly, or stupidly? These drawbacks have done immense harm in other ways than those which are seen on the surface. The voluntary service of amateur almoners has very largely incurred the same criticism. There is a large class of persons in temporary poverty to whom the visit of an official investigator adds humiliation to suffering, and the intrusion of any unknown third party gives pain. These can never be satisfactorily dealt with except first-hand, and if the benevolent rich were readier to act as their own almoners, they would not only be spared much failure, not by their own fault, but they would experience the rich reward of doing good by personal contact with the sufferer.

#### PROSPECT FOR A MANUFACTURERS' TARIFF.

IT is less than a month to the time fixed by current rumor for the assembling of the Fifty-fifth Congress in special session. Admittedly, that Congress will be called together for the purpose of enacting a high tariff measure, but that it will do so is far from certain. We very much fear that the Republicans will insist on the passage of a manufacturers' tariff and that as a result it will accomplish nothing. In the House, the Republicans will have a majority of about fifty votes, but they will not control the Senate, in which body the silver protectionists will hold the balance of power. Therefore the Republicans can pass no tariff measure through the Senate that will not command the votes of the silver protectionists, unless, indeed, they will be content to frame a tariff that will be acceptable to the gold Democrats, in other words, a revenue tariff, an alternative that is out of the question. So it is clear that if the silver protectionists will not lend their support to a manufacturers' tariff, and with due regard to their principles they cannot do so, such a tariff cannot be passed at the extra session of Congress which we are told is to be called by Mr. McKinley to meet on the fifteenth of March.

And if the Fifty-fifth Congress cannot pass a tariff measure its sessions are almost sure to be barren. The Republican majority in the House will be a negative rather than a positive force. The members of the majority party in the new House can be counted upon to vote for a high tariff measure, but further than this they cannot be expected to go on the line of positive legislation. They evince no inclination to take up the so-called monetary reforms urged by Mr. Gage and the currency monopolists; they would much prefer to leave things as they are.

We do not mean to infer that Mr. Gage will be without followers in the next House. He can count upon all those members who are under the thumb of the money cliques, who lack the backbone to withstand the pressure that those cliques can bring to bear—who know that to antagonize the schemes of the moneyed interests will be to raise up opposition from those interests to their re-election, and who, knowing this, will sacrifice the interests of their constituents and sell principle for place. But on the support of the solid Republican vote Mr. Gage and the currency monopolists cannot count, for some representatives there must be who will have the courage to do what is right, regardless of personal cost, and who cannot be browbeaten to do the bidding of the currency monopolists; and some there must be who, though ready to sell principle for place, will fear the wrath of their constituents more than the wrath of the moneyed interests, and refuse to sacrifice the interests of those they are elected to serve.

So, the prevailing sentiment among Republicans being to leave our monetary system as it is, there is no likelihood of the passage of legislation looking to the destruction of our greenback currency. The Republican members of the new House, though elected to uphold the gold standard, were not voted for in the belief that pursuit of the gold standard would necessitate the retirement of our greenbacks and a violent contraction of our currency before our monetary system could be placed on a firm foundation. They were elected to prevent a change in our monetary system through opening our mints to the free coinage of silver—not to bring about a change by retiring our greenback currency. It was on these lines that the great majority of the Representatives-elect made their campaigns. If they had boldly avowed that the keeping of our mints closed to silver meant the retirement of our greenbacks but few of them would have been elected, and as soon as it is made apparent that the logical outcome of the the gold standard is currency contraction and falling prices there may be expected a violent change of sentiment on the part of the body of Republican voters, if not of their representatives.

It is clear, then, that if the Republicans in the Fifty-fifth Con-

gress cannot pass a tariff measure, they can accomplish nothing whatever in a positive way. And their ability to pass a protective tariff is dependent altogether in the spirit of fairness or otherwise with which they approach the subject. In the House, a handsome majority can be beaten into line for almost any kind of a tariff but no tariff that is built on selfishness, and aiming to be protective of private interest, but not of the general weal, can pass the Senate, for the votes to pass it must come from men outside of the party who know what true protection is, and who will not vote for a measure that will not extend protection to all. If Republicans cannot bring themselves to agree to a tariff that is national, not sectional, that will extend its beneficent influence to all classes not one, to all industries, not a favored few, there is little prospect of any tariff legislation at the extraordinary, or any other session of the Fifty-fifth Congress, for a tariff that is not all this cannot, we are convinced, command the support of those protectionists without the Republican party, whose votes the Republicans must secure, to put any protective measure through the Senate. And unfortunately for the country the Republicans seem bent on legislating on the narrow plan of selfishness, which means, in this case, no legislation at all.

The McKinley idea of a protective tariff seems to be a tariff that will protect the manufacturer and let the farmer shift for himself. Protect the manufacturer, build up the manufacturer's prosperity, and the farmer and planter may pick up a fillip of prosperity from the crumbs that may be spilled over from the manufacturer's overflowing measure. This seems to be the McKinley idea of a protective tariff. It is as economically false as it is politically impossible of fulfillment.

Economically it is possible to pass a manufacturers' tariff such as will protect the manufacturer and leave the farmer and planter to shift for themselves; but such a tariff cannot build up the manufacturer's prosperity. The seal of the United States Agricultural Department, and it is a Republican not a Democratic, a Harrison not a Cleveland seal, bears this motto: "Agriculture is the foundation of manufacture and commerce." And it is the truth. The manufacturer cannot prosper, he cannot live, by consuming his own goods. He manufactures not for himself but for someone else, someone who can give him food for his products. If this someone cannot give him food, cannot buy his products, and thus put in his hands the wherewithal to buy food, he must cease to manufacture, turn his hand to tilling the soil and raising his own food, or go hungry. This someone is the farmer, and so, if the farmer cannot buy, the manufacturer must close his shop, if no relief comes his shop will go to rack and ruin, and his hands will scatter to become tillers of the soil, scatter to join those so poor that they cannot buy of manufactured goods. They will not prosper but they can live as mere tillers of the soil, for, though the farmer cannot prosper, he can live by consuming his own products which is something the manufacturer and his employe cannot do. They must exchange the products of their labor for food or starve. So it is clear that, unless there is a market among farmers for manufactured goods, there is no place for manufacturers. Extend this market, and the room for manufacturers, the number who can be profitably employed in manufacturing, will grow; curtail this market, and the room for manufacturers must be narrowed and numbers of them engaged in manufacturing thrown out of work.

Such being the case, the manufacturer cannot afford to let the farmer and planter shift for themselves. If the manufacturer would have prosperity, he must permit the enactment of legislation that will make it possible for the agriculturist to lift himself out of the slough of impoverishment and increase his purchases of manufactured goods. Until this increase comes, manufacturing prosperity is out of the question, for there will be no market for the manufactured goods and no manufacturer can prosper by piling up stock in his warehouses. The protective measure that will bring prosperity to the manufacturer must, therefore, be more

than a manufacturers' tariff; it must be a farmers' and planters' tariff, if we may use the word, no less than a manufacturer's tariff. And a customs tariff cannot protect our farmers and planters; they do not need protection in our markets against foreign competition; they need protection in the European markets against competition with those peoples producing on a silver and paper basis, and we can extend this protection only by restoring bimetallism. Therefore, it is that bimetallism and protection must go together to be of avail in restoring prosperity, and, therefore, it is, that we insist that to any designedly protective tariff measure shall be joined an amendment opening our mints to free silver coinage.

For fully thirty per cent. of our wheat and sixty per cent. of our cotton, for not less than one-fourth of the total value of our agricultural products we find a market abroad. The price we get in the European markets for this surplus fixes the price for the products sold for home consumption. Why this is so is obvious. If the price offered in Europe was higher than the New York price to a degree to more than make good the freightage, it is clear the New York grain and cotton merchants would ship their grain and cotton abroad, and refuse to sell it for domestic consumption until our millers and our spinners increased their bids and offered a price as high as the merchants could realize by shipping their products abroad. It is evident, then, that when prices for our agricultural products rise in Europe, they must rise at home.

And, on the contrary, if the price offered in the European markets falls, the price at which our agricultural products are sold for domestic consumption must fall equally. This is because we produce a surplus beyond our own needs; because we must find, as we have said, a market abroad for fully one-fourth of our agricultural products. The result is that when prices fall abroad, leaving prices relatively high in our markets, the surplus is held back by merchants seeking to take advantage of the higher prices ruling here, and as this surplus accumulates prices are forced down, as they ever must be when more produce is offered for sale than there is a market for,—forced down to that point where a new demand broad enough to take up the surplus offerings is met with, in the case of our agricultural products, the level of the European markets. So it is that when prices at which we can sell our agricultural products in the European markets fall, they fall at home. The price at which our surplus agricultural products can be sold not only fixes the price for the one-fourth of all our products we export, but for the three-fourths consumed at home.

So it is a very serious matter when anything happens that puts down prices of agricultural products on the European, primarily the British markets. It is a serious matter for our manufacturers only to a lesser degree than to our farmers, for the market for manufactured goods goes up and down with the receipts of the farmer for his crops. And thus it comes about that our manufacturers are vitally interested in freeing our farmers and planters from the handicap under which they now struggle for the European markets in competition with the silver and paper-using peoples. This handicap is the appreciation of gold, and has gone on gathering weight for twenty odd years.

Gold has so appreciated that it is worth twice as much silver as in 1873. The result is that the agriculturist selling for silver gets two dollars where our farmer gets one. True, he gets two silver dollars while our farmer gets the equivalent of one gold dollar, but when it comes to paying the cost of production the two silver dollars received by the silver-using peoples go just as far as two silver dollars did twenty years ago, while the gold dollar received by our farmer does not go nearly so far as two gold dollars, say in 1873. The reason for this is that in silver-using countries, where fixed charges are payable in silver, a silver dollar costing but fifty cents in gold to-day, will pay as much interest and taxes as the silver dollar costing a gold dollar in



1873. But in gold standard countries the debt-paying power of the gold dollar is just the same as ever. The result is the fixed charges resting on the silver-using peoples take only as much silver and half as much gold to-day as twenty odd years ago, while our farmers and planters must give just as much gold as ever. And as gold prices have fallen by one-half, it is clear that the burdens of our agriculturalists in the shape of fixed charges, have doubled, while the burdens of our competitors have remained unchanged.

But it is not only this fact that gives our competitors their advantage. Not alone fixed charges, but practically all costs entering into production have remained unchanged in silver-using countries during the period that gold has been rising as measured by silver. Consequently, for the silver dollar costing to-day fifty cents in gold, the silver-using peoples can sell, and without cutting down their profit on production, just as much produce as they could for a silver dollar costing one dollar in gold in 1873. The result has been that our competitors have cut prices in half.

Free our farmers and planters from this handicap of an appreciated gold dollar and how would things stand? Instead of being able to buy a silver dollar with fifty cents in gold our competitors would have to pay a dollar, and as this silver dollar costing a dollar would pay no more taxes, no more interest, probably go no further in paying the costs of production than the dollar now costing fifty cents, it is quite evident that the price at which our competitors could profitably sell their produce would be doubled. This would make an extended market for our products in Europe, raise prices, and thus increase the saleable value both of the share of our agricultural products sold abroad and the share sold at home.

It must also be remembered that it is not alone in competition with silver-using peoples that we suffer the handicap of this appreciation of gold. We suffer it in competition with those paper-using countries in which gold is at a premium. One of the most remarkable instances of the effect of this appreciation of gold on exports to gold-using countries is that of the Argentine Republic. Fifteen years ago that country actually imported wheat, as late as 1886 her exports of wheat amounted to but 1,391,265 bushels, a year later they amounted to 8,739,987 bushels, and then they fell off to 837,092 bushels in 1889. Then came the collapse and a rapid depreciation of her currency as measured by gold. As shown by the fall in prices in all gold-using countries much of the apparent depreciation in paper was not real but due to a rapid appreciation of gold.

But, however, this may have been, the cost of producing wheat rose in no corresponding ratio with the depreciation of paper. The result was an enormous premium on the export of wheat. The pound sterling of gold that was before worth, say, seven and a half pesos, became worth fifteen, and so it came about, the cost of production, having increased but little, that ten shillings in gold were worth to the Argentinian agriculturalist very close to what twenty had been before. In other words, he found himself in position, owing to the increased premium on gold, to sell for ten or twelve shillings in gold what he had to ask twenty shillings for before. Naturally he cut the price, and as he cut the price, the market for his products broadened. Thus Argentinian exports of wheat rose rapidly and steadily from 837,982 bushels in 1889 to 59,094,067 bushels in 1894. In 1895 exports were 37,120,987 bushels, exclusive of nearly 119,000,000 pounds of flour, equivalent to about two and a half million bushels of wheat, a falling off attributable to crop failures, the yield per acre being but  $8\frac{3}{4}$  bushels, against 13 bushels in 1894, which is said to be about the normal yield.

The capability of Argentine in the direction of wheat production is almost illimitable. The natural advantages of the Argentinian wheat raiser are unsurpassed. The Rio de la Platte running into the midst of the wheat district gives the wheat fields a ready accessibility to market that is known no where

else in the world. A land carriage of a hundred miles will put most of the Argentinian wheat at a point on the Rio Platte accessible to ocean steamers. Much of our wheat has to bear a tax of 1500 miles of rail transportation. Add to accessibility, a salubrious climate, and fertile soil, and the Argentinian wheat fields are unsurpassed. And of this land suitable for wheat production there is an area of 240,000,000 acres; an area upon which could be raised enough wheat to supply the demand of the whole world.

The advantages of the Argentinian farmer being naturally great, it is folly for us to throw in his lap a bounty for production such as we are now holding out to him by adhering to the gold standard and thus maintaining the premium on gold. This premium on gold reduces the gold cost of Argentinian wheat delivered at Rosario, the chief port of export, to about 35 cents a bushel, which is equivalent to not more than 40 cents in New York. And what farmer in the United States can sell wheat at New York for 40 cents a bushel and come out whole? Not one can do so. Yet this is a price all will have to accept if we aid Argentine in developing her wheat fields by holding out to her producers a bounty that enables them to produce and deliver their wheat, at port of shipment, at a cost of 35 cents a bushel.

And if we force our farmers to meet this price—a price below the cost of production—how can our farmers buy of manufactured goods? Obviously, they cannot buy, for they will have no money to spend, and if we are going to keep our farmers so impoverished that they cannot buy manufactured goods our manufacturers might as well break up their establishments.

The only salvation for our manufacturers is by treading the road of bimetallism. Let us restore bimetallism, thus increase the world's stock of money, cut down the demand for and the appreciation of gold, and we will raise the price in gold at which the Russian, the Indian, when not famine-stricken, and the Argentinian, can sell their products.

Indian famine and short crops in Argentine and Australia have given us a breathing spell. Let us take advantage of it and take away the premium on gold now enjoyed by our competitors. Otherwise when the present breathing spell shall pass, we will fall into a relapse of a severity such as we have not yet experienced.

This is what the silver protectionists in the Senate see, this is what they will point out, and it is for this reason that they will move to amend any manufacturers' tariff that the Republicans may send up from the House, so as to make it protective of farmers and planters and truly protective of manufacturers as well. This can only be accomplished by providing for the opening of our mints to free silver coinage, nothing less will do.

It is in no dog-in-the-manger spirit that we will urge silver protectionists to move to amend any tariff bill the Republicans may offer so that it will provide for free silver coinage. It is because we see no measure can be effective that does not bring prosperity to our farmers and planters, and no tariff can of itself give this prosperity. To our farmers and planters, bimetallism is the only real protection, and so, in a measure equally protective of the farming and manufacturing classes, bimetallism must be joined with a high tariff.

A manufacturers' tariff cannot, no matter how high the customs' wall may be built, bring prosperity even to our manufacturers. Framed from a selfish standpoint, it would be useless even to benefit the selfish framers. So, if the amending of such a measure by the Senate so as to make it really protective, not of manufacturers alone, but of farmers and planters, of wage-earners, of all classes alike, an end that can only be accomplished by adding an amendment providing for free silver coinage; if we repeat the adding of such an amendment results in the defeat of the bill there will be no cause for regret.

But if the bill after being so amended meets with defeat, the responsibility will rest where it belongs. Let the silver

protectionists move to amend the tariff bill when it comes before the Senate by attaching a free silver clause, if the free silver Democrats will vote with the silver protectionists and Populists on this amendment and there is every reason why they should, none why they should not, the amendment will be adopted and then if the amended bill is defeated, the Republicans will have to do it, and they will have to take the responsibility of defeating that which is a truly protective measure.

#### THE TARIFF AND PRACTICAL POLITICS.

THE gold Republicans evince great anxiety lest the silver protectionists should make some misplay in the game of politics. They bend their energies to point out pitfalls that open in the path of the silver protectionists, to say nothing of the Democrats, and are free in their advice as to how they may be avoided. In the welfare of their opponents, in their future success they seemingly take great interest. It would appear from the freedom with which they point out possible tactical blunders in the game of politics to silver protectionists and Democrats that they want to remove any possible obstacles to the success of their opponents over them in the next campaign. Thus they tell us that considerations of practical politics demand of the silver protectionists that they give the Republicans a free hand in the framing of a tariff measure built on the false basis that manufacturing prosperity can be built up independently of agricultural prosperity, and thus give the country an object lesson of the futility of the Republican remedy. Give the Republican party a free hand to discredit itself, and thus your path to political success in the campaigns of 1898 and 1900 will be bright. This is what the gold Republicans want to impress on the silver protectionists. It is not disinterested advice, it is given in the hope that those to whom it is so gratuitously tendered will follow it, and thus aid the gold Republicans in the accomplishment of their ends.

It is not for this that those representatives of the people elected in opposition to candidates pledged to the maintenance of the gold standard were sent to Congress. It is their duty, the duty of all those who see the injustice of a tariff that aims to protect the manufacturers and leave the farmers and planters to struggle, unprotected, as best they can, to oppose such a tariff. It is not right for men who see how futile it is to build up a tariff barrier to check foreign importations while encouraging such imports by holding out to silver-using peoples a bounty in the shape of a premium on gold, who see how utterly impossible it is to build up manufacturing prosperity without building up agricultural prosperity, and who see that it is impossible to build up agricultural prosperity while paying to our great competitors for the European markets a bounty on production of one hundred per cent.; it is not right, we repeat, for men who see this to lend their assistance to Republicans in passing a tariff that cannot better existing conditions.

Nor can men in Congress who see this justify themselves in voting for a tariff that cannot protect on the ground of practical politics. They were not elected to aid their opponents in the application of their unavailing remedy; they were not elected to facilitate the enactment of mistaken legislative remedies that the futility of such remedies might be shown. Practical politics, in the long run, consists in doing what is right, not in making it easy for one's opponents to do what is wrong; in striving to extricate the country from its difficulties, not in leading one's opponents to involve the country deeper in difficulties; in pointing out the path to safety, and not in aiding one's opponents to push our people along the road to ruin and disaster.

A little more than a year ago, sixteen Republican Senators subscribed to this declaration of faith:

"WHEREAS, The difference of exchange between silver standard countries and gold standard countries is equivalent to a

bounty of 100 per cent. on the products of the silver standard countries; and,

"WHEREAS, The cost of production in the old world, and particularly in China and Japan, is less than products can be produced or manufactured in this country by American labor, without reducing our farmers, miners, mechanics, manufacturers and industrial workers to the level of Chinese coolies; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we are in favor of rescuing the people of the United States from such impending danger by removing the difference of exchange between gold standard countries and silver standard countries by the only method possible, which is the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16-1 by the independent action of the United States, and we are in favor of a tariff which shall be sufficient to equalize the cost of production in the United States, and in European and Asiatic countries, and that the protection incident to such tariff shall be equally distributed in every section of the United States and between the various products and industries of each State."

Thus was outlined the only policy that can give protection to all classes of our people and bring general prosperity. A measure designed to be protective, but which departs from these lines cannot be truly protective. It is on these lines that silver protectionists take their stand, and any measure purporting to be protective, but which departs from these lines and cannot therefore be truly protective, they should oppose. If Republicans would pass a protective measure they must frame it along these lines.

To this declaration of principles Senators Teller, Mantle, Cannon, Pettigrew, Du Bois, Warren, Mantle, Shoup, Pritchard, Wolcott, Mitchell, Hansbrough, Carter, Perkins, Cameron, Clark and Brown affixed their names. When the Republican party sold itself out to the money power the last eleven saw fit to eat their words and go with the party, the first five had the courage to stand by their principles and repudiate the party that had repudiated its principles. Of the five Senators who thus stood up to their convictions Senator Dubois, of Idaho, failed of election in the recent contest, a Populist having been elected to fill his seat. The other four will be members of the Fifty-fifth Congress, and they will be reinforced by the new Senator from Washington, Mr. Turner. So there will be five Senators in the next Senate ready to fight for real protection and, as no high tariff measure can pass the Senate that will not command the votes of at least three of these Senators, the Republicans can choose between a true protective tariff and none.

There will probably be forty-two members in the next Senate who will go into the Republican caucus, at least at the beginning of its sessions. Thus it appears the Republicans will lack three votes of the requisite number to pass a tariff measure. This is a poor enough showing from the Republican standpoint. But their position is weaker than at first appears. There is no solidity, even in the Republican minority. Nine out of the forty-two Senators making up this minority are avowedly in favor of free silver coinage. Of the eleven Senators who signed the above-quoted declaration of principles, but who saw fit to place party before principle, Cameron and Brown, whose terms expire with this Congress, failed of re-election. The other nine will be members of the next Senate. And upon these Senators who subscribed themselves in January a year ago as "in favor of rescuing the people of the United States from impending danger by removing the difference of exchange between gold-standard countries and silver-standard countries in the only possible way, which is the free and unlimited coinage of silver," the Republicans have to count in making up the minority of 42 votes. How many of the other 33 Republican Senators, who, like Senator Chandler, have decided leanings to bimetalism, is uncertain. We can count several.

So it is quite evident that the Republican minority in the Senate lacks of that solidity which gives promise of permanence. It is held together by the party whip and nothing else. Such being the case, the Republicans have very infirm ground from



which to push a manufacturers' tariff, for nine of those Senators who they count upon for support have declared their belief that to be effectual a tariff must be joined to bimetallism, for in no other way is it possible to remove the premium on gold, as measured by silver, which is equivalent to a bounty of 100 per cent. on exports from gold-using to silver-using countries, and which must enable our silver competitors to overleap our tariff barriers.

So it is far more likely that the Republicans should lose votes after the tariff debate opens in the Senate than that they should gain. The only argument that can be addressed to the five silver protectionists now outside of the party is that of practical politics. The argument that will be addressed to the nine free-coinage Republicans within the party is: Do what you know to be right; stand up to your convictions; heed the interests of your constituents, comply with their demands, and throw off the yoke of the party that has sold itself for gold, and which you are demeaning yourselves by wearing.

#### DIFFICULTIES OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

INDIA is greatly indebted to Great Britain. So great is this indebtedness that the annual interest charge is something like \$80,000,000. As the Government has undertaken much the greater part of this debt on behalf of the Indian people, building the railroads and the great public works of that country out of the money borrowed, the Calcutta Government must make provision for the payment of the interest.

This interest is payable in London, and in gold, and the Indian Government receives its taxes in silver rupees, which down to 1893 had the same value as the weight of silver metal they contained, but since that year, and the closing of the Indian mints, they have been maintained at an artificial value. Indeed, it was with this object in view that the mints of India were closed in June, 1893. The revenue of the Indian Government being paid in silver rupees and the Government being under the necessity of paying the interest on its foreign debt in gold, it took an ever-increasing share of the tax receipts to meet these interest payments just as gold as measured by silver rose. The result was the tax levy was always falling short.

When silver was at a par with gold at the ratio of 15½ to 1, the silver rupee was worth about two shillings in gold, and then it took ten rupees to pay a pound sterling of gold indebtedness in London. But when silver, consequent on the closing of the mints of the western world to free silver coinage, commenced to depreciate as measured by gold the silver rupee depreciated likewise. This went on until, in 1893, silver had fallen, as measured by gold, to two-thirds of its former value and the silver rupee was worth something less than one shilling four pence. The result was that to pay each pound of interest due in London the Indian Government had to provide fifteen rupees instead of ten. This was equivalent to increasing the interest charge by fifty per cent. Of course this was a serious increase of burden to the Indian treasury.

Then came the agitation for the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman act and the stoppage of purchases of silver by the United States. This naturally unsettled the silver market and threatened to send the gold price of silver materially lower. At this the Indian Council sitting in London took alarm and decreed the closing of the Indian mints. By taking this course they hoped to hold up the price of the silver rupee. Of course, so long as the Indian mints were open to unlimited silver coinage, the rupee could not command a higher price than the 165 grains of silver it contained, for with the mints open to coinage on private account, anyone with silver could take it to the Indian mints and get a rupee for every 165 grains deposited. But with the mints closed to coinage on individual account it was clear this could not be done, it was clear that no fall in the price of silver

could lead to an increase in the coinage of silver rupees, and without an increase of silver rupees it was clear the rupee would maintain its value, or even rise in value as trade and the demand for money grew.

Seeing this, the Indian Government decreed the closing of the Indian mints to unlimited coinage, and decreed an arbitrary restriction of coinage which, of course, gave the silver rupee an artificial value. Thus, at this time, the rupee is worth close to one shilling four pence, while the silver in it is worth less than a shilling. Consequently, it takes fewer rupees to pay the gold debt in London than it would if there were free coinage and the rupee was worth but a shilling.

Thus, the burdens of the Indian Government have in one way been relieved by the closing of the mints, but in another way they have been enhanced. It takes fewer rupees to pay the gold interest, but it makes the rupees harder to get.

The artificial enhancement of the rupee has worked to the detriment of the Indian producer. It has raised up an obstacle in the shape of a premium on gold to exports of Indian produce to China. The result has been that exports of Indian yarn to China have well-nigh ceased, while acres and acres of new mills are being erected around Shanghai. And, on the other hand, this enhancement of the rupee has cut down the bounty, in the shape of a premium on gold, on all exports to gold-using countries. Instead of enjoying a bounty of 100 per cent., as do all peoples who use silver at its bullion value, the Indian producers enjoy a bounty of less than 50 per cent. So, while they have an advantage over gold-using peoples, they are at a disadvantage in competition with silver-using peoples. This is shown by the falling off in exports of yarns to China and, before the present famine put an absolute stop to wheat exports, a falling off in wheat exports to Europe.

The result of all this is that the enhancement of the rupee has undermined the tax-paying ability of the Indian. It takes, as we said, fewer rupees to pay the interest on the foreign debt than it would if the Indian mints were open to unlimited coinage, but the rupees are harder to get.

Of course the Indian Government does not remit to London the silver rupees collected by the tax-gatherer. Neither does it purchase gold in India with these rupees and remit the gold. What it endeavors to do is to sell the rupees in the Indian treasury to British merchants having remittances to make to India in payment for purchases of Indian produce. Under ordinary conditions, exports of merchandise from India exceed by a large figure the value of imports. Thus, for the fiscal year 1894 exports amounted to \$277,239,541, and imports to \$206,462,938, leaving a balance in favor of India of \$70,776,603. For this balance the British merchant—for it is the British merchant who controls the trade—had of course to make provision in some way.

And here the Indian Government steps in and offers the means. The Indian Council in London draws bills on the Calcutta treasury payable in rupees, and sells these drafts in London for the equivalent of gold. Thus the Indian Government gets the gold it has need of to pay interest charges in London, and the British merchant gets the rupees in Calcutta that he has need of to pay for the purchases of Indian produce he has made in excess of his sales. In short, the Indian ryot is taxed to pay interest in London to an amount equivalent to the value of produce exported from India in excess of imports, the British merchant buys these tax moneys from the Indian Government, pays them back to the Indian ryot and other producers in settlement for their produce, and the account is called square. But for the Indian producer it is a very odd kind of squaring. To square the account he is obliged to export a quantity of produce sufficient to raise \$80,000,000 in gold every year, and this produce, owing partly to the demonetization of silver forced upon him by his rulers, he has been forced to put in at half the price he was able to put it in at twenty years ago.

When the interest due England by India is not sufficient to offset the excess of sales of merchandise made by India over purchases, India must be paid for the balance in silver. But it is not only under such circumstances that India absorbs silver. She is running deeper into debt year after year, in short, borrowing in London the money to carry on new public works, and the money thus borrowed or its equivalent must be remitted to India. It may be sent as steel rails and railroad equipment, that is, the money borrowed in England may be spent in England on India's account, but much of the cost of the public works is not made up of the cost of materials needed for construction or operation and bought in England, but is made up of costs that must be incurred on the ground. So it is, that much of the money borrowed must be sent as money, and thus it is, that we find India absorbing silver year after year, even when her interest payments to Great Britain offset the moneys due India by the rest of the world on account of purchases of produce made in excess of imports.

The famine in India has brought affairs to a crisis. The Indian Government is called upon to make extraordinary outlays and at the same time, owing to the necessity of remitting taxes, it has found its revenues falling away. And on top of this comes urgent outcry from the business interests for relief. The market for products of all kinds is restricted, consequent on the famine and plague, business is paralyzed and there is great demand for money from the merchants to enable them to carry the goods they cannot sell. As a result interest rates have advanced greatly and the call for help is heard in London. So it happens that the demand for Indian Council bills on the part of those desiring to remit to India is urgent. And as the Indian Government must provide just as much gold for interest payments in London as ever, and as it wants to alleviate the stringency in India, the Indian Council sitting in London is offering drafts liberally.

But these drafts will, in due time, be presented at the Calcutta treasury for payment, and the rupees must be provided to meet such demand. If the tax levy will not yield these rupees, and the belief is current that it will not, they must be borrowed. And so it is that an Indian sterling loan of £5,000,000 is talked of in London.

The question then arises how, if negotiated, is this sterling loan going to be made available. The Indian Government might directly use it in London in the payment of interest and thus curtail the issue of drafts drawn on the Calcutta treasury in the future. This would make it possible for the revenues to catch up with the demands upon the Calcutta Government, but such a course would tend to contract the Indian currency and accentuate rather than relieve the currency famine and distress in India. So there is good reason for the Indian Government not to take this course. Moreover the liberal issue of council drafts now going on is an indication that the government will not take it. But if the government does not take this course and goes on issuing council drafts in the present liberal manner, it must get this loan to Calcutta and in a form available for the payment of the council drafts when presented. This it might accomplish by taking the gold borrowed to India, putting it in its note reserve and paying out the rupees there held. This would simply result in taking \$25,000,000 of gold out of the stock available for use as money in the Western World, make gold scarcer to that degree and correspondingly dearer. So far as India was concerned, it would put about 75,000,000 additional rupees in circulation, thus ease the money market and reduce in some degree the gold price of the rupee. This would increase the number of rupees the Indian Government would have to provide for the payment of the interest on its debt held in Great Britain.

But there is a third course open to the Indian Government, and pursuit of which would yield the Government great profit. It is to take the gold borrowed in London, buy silver with it, send the silver to the Indian mint, and have it coined on Government

account. As the cost of the silver it would take to coin a silver rupee is, at the present price of silver, less than twenty-three cents, and the present value of the rupee about thirty cents, the profit on this coinage would be considerable, and do much to fill up the depleted Indian Treasury. It is, of course, not likely that there would be a profit of seven cents in each rupee coined, which would be equal to about twenty cents on each ounce of silver purchased—or a profit on 38,000,000 ounces, approximately the amount of silver that £5,000,000 would purchase at present prices, of about \$7,600,000—for the purchase of £5,000,000 worth of silver would undoubtedly raise the price of silver, and the injection of 100,000,000 rupees or so into the Indian currency could not fail to have a very appreciable effect on the gold value of the rupee. Thus the appreciation of silver consequent on a purchase that would be equal to about a fourth of the present annual production of silver, and the depreciation of the rupee consequent on an increase of circulation would tend to bring the bullion value of the rupee and the coin value closer together. But after making due allowance for the approach in value of silver as bullion and the coined rupee it is apparent the profit to the Indian Government would be considerable. So inducement to the Indian Government to take this course is not wanting, and if it should make such a purchase, we would greatly benefit.

And thus it is that we may profit from India's misfortunes, further than finding an enlarged market for our wheat. An enlarged market for our silver may grow out of those misfortunes even as has an enlarged market for our wheat.

#### Low Rates to Washington for the Inauguration.

The B. & O. R. R. will sell round-trip tickets to Washington, D. C., from all stations on its lines east of the Ohio River, for all trains March 1, 2, 3, and all trains on the morning of the 4th that reach Washington not later than noon, at rate of two cents per mile in each direction, valid for return journey until March 8th, inclusive. The rate from New York will be \$8.00

Philadelphia	-	-	-	5.40
Chester	-	-	-	4.90
Wilmington	-	-	-	4.35
Newark, Del	-	-	-	3.90

and correspondingly low rates from other stations.—*Adv.*

#### WOMEN'S WAYS.

WHY do I love you, sweetheart mine?  
In sooth I cannot say;  
Love came to me so stealthily  
I never saw his way.

His gentle footsteps scarcely pressed  
The pathway to my heart;  
I only saw him standing there,  
And knew he'd ne'er depart.

How can I tell what brought him when  
I know not how he came?  
I only knew, and bowed before  
The magic of his name.

So many are more beautiful?  
Ah, well, perchance 'tis true;  
So many are much better, dear?  
Sweet, no one else is "you!"

\*\*\*

Every woman imagines that if she had a fortune left her, her friends would find that she had not changed a bit.

\*\*\*

In the days of knight-errantry, when the grip of a mail-clad hand might have had unpleasant consequences, it was a sign of peace and good-will to remove the gauntlet in greeting. That is how it came to be the fashion of our great-grandfathers—a fashion fast falling into disuse—to take off the glove before shaking hands; and it is the origin of the rule that gloves must always be removed on presentation to the Queen at Court.

\*\*\*

Harriet Beecher Stowe long ago cried out against the necessity, or the pretended necessity, of the masseur for indolent



women. "Women," she says, "lie for hours to have their feet twiggled, their arms flexed, and all the different muscles worked for them, because they are so flaccid and torpid that the powers of life do not go on. Would it not be quite as cheerful and less expensive a process," she asks, "if young girls from early life developed the muscles in sweeping, dusting, ironing, rubbing furniture, and all the multiplied domestic processes which our grandmothers knew of?" and then adds: "I will venture to say that our grandmothers in a week went over every movement that any gymnast has invented, and went over them to some productive purpose, too."

\*\*

Many house plants die from too much heat. They like sunshine, but too much artificial heat makes them spindling and unhealthy in growth.

\*\*

Osman Pasha, the hero of Plevna, during all this turmoil and disorder in the Turkish Empire, is holding the essential Oriental position of "sealer" in the kitchen of the Sultan. His duty is to seal all the dishes intended for his master's table immediately after they are prepared. As the cooks are likewise very trusty servants, having their wages paid with a punctuality which must raise the envy of the troops, the dishes are effectually secured against the insertion of poison by any unauthorized persons, and when carried into the royal dining-room the seals are broken in Abdul Hamid's presence.

\*\*

"I was happy just once in my life," Marie Burroughs once said. "It was long ago, before I knew that the pleasures of anticipation were greater than those of realization—the old days when I was mad with ambition and sick at heart for lack of opportunity. It seemed to me one day that the triumph of my life was at hand, for Lawrence Barrett had consented to hear me. He told me about the kind of life an actor lived, all about the struggles, the waiting, the disappointments—all of it—and then asked me to recite. I chose the story of 'Leah, the Forsaken,' and when I finished he said:

"All that I have told you is true, but if you are willing to endure it I believe that you will be an actress—a very great actress—some day."

"And that," said Miss Burroughs, "is the one perfectly happy moment of my life."

#### A WORD WITH THE DOCTOR.

TO arrest convulsions in a teething child immerse it in a warm bath with cold water cloths on its head.

\*\*

Equal parts of lime water and sweet oil well mixed will form a kind of soap which is very efficacious in taking out or removing inflammation, as well as for healing wounds caused by burns or scalds.

\*\*

Cultivate the habit of breathing through the nose and taking deep breaths. If this habit was universal, there is little doubt that pulmonary affections would be decreased one-half. An English physician calls attention to this fact, that deep and forced respirations will keep the entire body in a glow in the coldest weather, no matter how thinly one may be clad. He was himself half frozen to death one night, and began taking deep breaths and keeping the air in his lungs as long as possible. The result was that he was thoroughly comfortable in a few minutes. The deep respirations, he says, stimulate the blood currents by direct muscular action, and cause the entire system to become pervaded with the rapidly-generated heat.

\*\*

For neuralgia in face or jaw, a flannel bag filled with very hot salt, heated in a pan, applied frequently, and with the head kept well covered, will relieve it.

\*\*

Mrs. Ernest Hart, herself a physician of eminence, who accompanied her husband, the distinguished editor of the *British Medical Journal*, in his recent trip around the world, appears to come to the conclusion that meat-eating is bad for the temper. She says that in no country is home rendered so unhappy and life made so miserable by the ill temper of those who are obliged to live together as in England. "If we compare domestic life and manners in England with those of countries where meat

does not form such an integral article of diet, a notable improvement will be marked. In less meat-eating France, urbanity is the rule of the home; in fish and rice-eating Japan, harsh words are unknown, and an exquisite politeness to one another prevails, even among the children who play together in the streets. In Japan I never heard rude, angry words spoken by any but Englishmen. I am strongly of the opinion that the ill temper of the English is caused in a measure by a too abundant meat dietary, combined with a sedentary life. The half-oxidized products of albumen circulating in the blood produce both mental and moral disturbances. The healthful thing to do is to lead an active and unselfish life, on a moderate diet, sufficient to maintain strength and not increase weight."

#### A CHAPTER ABOUT CHILDREN.

I HAVE a little shadow that goes in and out with me,  
And what can be the use of him is more than I can see,  
He is very, very like me, from the heels up to the head;  
And I see him jump before me when I jump into my bed.

The funniest thing about him is the way he likes to grow—  
Not at all like proper children, which is always very slow;  
For he sometimes shoots up taller, like an India rubber ball,  
And he sometimes gets so little that there's none of him at all.

One morning very early, before the sun was up,  
I rose and found the shining dew on every buttercup,  
But my lazy little shadow, like an arrant sleepyhead,  
Had stayed at home behind me and was fast asleep in bed.

—Robert Louis Stevenson.

\*\*

Teach the children that it is in bad taste for them to tell all that they learn of the neighbors' domestic arrangements through playing with the neighbors' children.

\*\*

Be sure that every one of you has his place and vocation on this earth, and that it rests with himself to find it. Do not believe those who too lightly say, "Nothing succeeds like success." Effort—honest, manful, humble effort—succeeds by its reflected action, especially in youth, better than success, which, indeed, too easily and too early gained, not seldom serves, like winning the throw of the dice, to blind and stupefy. Get knowledge, all you can. Be thorough in all you do, and remember that though ignorance often may be innocent, pretension is always despicable. But you, like men, be strong and exercise your strength. Work onward and upward, and may the blessing of the Most High soothe your cares, clear your vision and crown your labors with reward!

\*\*

Warmth is friendly to the human family, and from what we observe in the animal creation, it is equally so to them. They are provided by nature with the means of comfort, and guided by an unerring instinct to seek and pursue what is beneficial and avoid what would be destructive. It is a noteworthy fact that the children who are least exposed to cold are generally most healthy, while those who are victims to the erroneous principle of hardening by exposure and cold baths are scarcely ever free from disease. We earnestly believe there are more children sacrificed than are saved by being subjected to this fallacious treatment.

\*\*

A little girl six years old was on a visit to her grandfather, who was a New England divine, celebrated for his logical powers.

"Only think, grandpa, what Uncle Robert says."

"What does he say, my dear?"

"Why, he says the moon is made of green cheese. It isn't at all, is it?"

"Well, child, suppose you find out for yourself."

"How can I, grandpa?"

"Get your Bible, and see what it says."

"Where shall I begin?"

"Begin at the beginning."

The child sat down to read the Bible. Before she got more than half through the second chapter of Genesis, and had read about the creation of the stars and the animals, she came back to her grandfather, her eyes all bright with the excitement of discovery. "I've found it, grandpa. It isn't true; for God made the moon before he made cows."

## BOOK REVIEWS.

WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD. By Thornton K. Lothrop. American Statesmen Series. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Whatever may be the special niche in the temple of Fame which the future holds in reserve for Lincoln's Secretary of State, it is not much easier to foresee after reading this biography than before. Its impartiality is admirable considering the author's high estimate of his hero. Seward was born in Florida in 1801, entered the bar in 1822, organized and became brigadier-general of a company of artillery a few years later, served in the State Senate of New York from 1830 till 1834, and became Governor of New York in 1838. His busy life is clearly brought out in the chapters that deal with the eventful years preceding his selection as Secretary of State by Lincoln. This honor was declined by Seward in his studiously cold and almost personally offensive letter of March 2d. Their mutual negotiations for the next seven days are aptly indicated by Mr. Lincoln's remark that he "could not afford to let Seward take the first trick." On March 8th Seward met Lincoln's renewed offer of the post by accepting it. The suggestion, or contention, of some writers that Seward had personal objects in view in these manœuvres, and that he would have patched up a compromise with the South if assured of sufficient support, is opposed by the author, who insists that he was animated solely by the desire to perform for his country the best public service he could. "He might not unreasonably have hesitated about becoming a member of such discordant and heterogeneous materials as Mr. Lincoln had got together."

Once in the Cabinet, Seward displayed the essential weakness of a subordinate who attempts to dominate his superior. It was a grievous mistake at best, but it touched the height of ridiculous rashness when that head officer was Abraham Lincoln. The author pleads for suspension of judgment on the charge that Seward made promises to the Confederate Commissioners that Fort Sumter would be evacuated, with other friendly offices and sympathies. Of Seward's singular April Fool's Day letter, dictating a still more singular policy to the President, the author has an opinion which must have cost him some pain to express. We quote from Chapter XV:

"Seward's first month as Secretary of State was not to close without another incident of no great importance except as it throws light on the state of the times, the characters of both the President and Secretary, and their relations to each other.

"On the 1st of April he submitted to Mr. Lincoln a paper entitled 'Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration,' in which he stated, that at the end of a month's administration we were 'without a policy, either domestic or foreign.' But, though he admitted this condition to have been unavoidable, the presence of the Senate and the pressure of the office-seekers having prevented attention to graver matters, any further delay to adopt and prosecute our policies for both domestic and foreign affairs, would, he said, not only bring scandal upon the Administration, but danger upon the country.

"As to domestic policy, he suggested that 'we must change the question before the public from one upon slavery, or about slavery, for a question upon union or disunion.' The occupation or evacuation of Fort Sumter being regarded as a slavery or party question although it was not so in fact, he 'would terminate it, as a safe means of changing the issue;' and he deemed it fortunate that the last Administration created the necessity." He would reinforce and defend all the forts in the gulf, have the navy recalled from foreign stations to be prepared for a blockade, and put Key West under martial law.

"As to foreign nations he 'would demand explanations from Spain and France categorically, at once;' and would convene Congress and declare war against them, if the explanations were unsatisfactory; he would also 'seek explanations from Great Britain and Russia, and send agents into Canada, Mexico and Central America to rouse a vigorous continental spirit of independence on this continent against European intervention.' But," he added, "whatever policy we adopt, there must be an energetic prosecution of it. It must be somebody's business to pursue and direct it incessantly. Either the President must do it himself and be all the while active in it, or devolve it on some member of his cabinet. It is not in my especial province, but I neither seek to evade nor assume responsibility."

"This paper was evidently written before Seward knew that the President had definitely determined on the expeditions to either fort. It is an extraordinary document in any point of view. Its suggestions as to foreign policy would have been wild at any time. In a period of domestic peace and prosperity, to invite the ill-will of all the European powers at once, and to encourage the other countries of America to do the same, would have been a mad scheme. But that any cabinet minister, when his country was distracted by domestic difficulties which threatened its destruction, when its treasury was bankrupt, its navy scattered, its army bankrupt, its army a mere handful of men, and the majority of its officers, both naval and military, of doubtful fidelity or confessed disloyalty, and when an absolute peace and a friendly understanding with all other countries was essential to its safety should propose to throw down the gauntlet to the most powerful of the civilized nations, is incomprehensible. It is obvious that the suggestions as to foreign policy came from the belief that a foreign war, or the prospect of one, would unite all our people, divert the attention of the South, give a new direction to the excitement there, and put an end

for the moment to all schemes of secession. But that Seward should have entertained this idea only shows how blind he was to the signs of the times; how his very nearness to the trouble prevented his seeing what was clear to more distant observers—that, while the politicians at Washington were vacillating between compromise and resistance, in the South there had been one steady, uninterrupted progress toward secession and war. . . .

"Lincoln's reply to Seward's memorandum was eminently characteristic, tactful and judicious. It dwelt with the several points of the paper, but, as a rule, did not combat them directly. To use one of the President's favorite illustrations, he ploughed around the log rather than attempted to go through it. To the closing suggestion that some one must devote himself to pursuing the policy determined on, he replied, that, if any one were to do this, the President must be the person. Having sent his answer, he put the paper away and never spoke of it; its existence was wholly unknown until after his death and its publication by his biographers."

Allowing for the uphill path the biographer has had to toil, and the mass of documentary facts to sift, he has made an excellent case for the distinguished statesman who shared the anxieties and labors and a portion of the martyrdom of the great Patriot President of those perilous days. The ample index greatly adds to the value of the biography as a work of reference.

WITH FIRE AND SWORD. 1 Vol., \$2.00.

THE DELUGE. 2 Vols., \$3.00.

PAN MICHAEL. 1 Vol., \$2.00. A series of Historical Romances.

By Henryk Sienkiewicz. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

The very name of Poland suggests romance at fever heat. A thousand years of Polish history comprises all the elements necessary to the making of a grewsome drama, with

Much of madness, and more of sin,  
And horror the soul of the plot.

This applies to the dark centuries of many countries besides Poland, centuries in which all-consuming ambitions played havoc with ignorant peoples, wise enough to prefer peace to war, but not wise enough to join in ending the "divine" right to wrong God and men in peace, and by wars of conquest. The prolonged tragedy of Poland has many bright episodes of magnificent patriotism, never more thrillingly told than in these volumes, yet over it all has hung a cloud of doom which still casts a melancholy shade over its national heart. The grandeur of suffering under adverse fate, the quiver of hopeless hope, give to this historical trilogy a lofty interest independently of its psychological charm. Sienkiewicz is rightly compared with Scott, Thackeray and Dumas, in range of incident, strong characterization, wealth of imagination and powerful style. When to these is added a vein of humor that recalls Cervantes and Shakespeare, it is tantamount to placing Sienkiewicz at the head of the novelists of the world for the half century now ending. This place is fairly his, and if his work takes such hold upon English-speaking people, unfamiliar with the kaleidoscopic spectacle of Polish history and the fearsome terror of the Polish language, we can faintly imagine the effect it must have upon those who read it, not in a translation, but in the original. This matter of names is enough to deter many a well-disposed reader. Mr. Curtin is an admirable translator, and he not only takes pains to show us how to get at a passable pronunciation of the leading names (for a correct one is impossible to our defectively constructed jaws) but he gives elaborate introductions to each book, explaining the historical situation at the period illustrated by the several stories. That the former service in particular is badly needed will be admitted by anyone who will venture to read aloud this opening sentence from "Pan Michael."

"After the close of the Hungarian War, when the marriage of Pan Andrei Kmitka and Panna Aleksandra Billewicz was celebrated \* \* \* Pan Michael Volodyovski was to enter the bonds of marriage with Panna Anna Borzobogati Krasienski. The lady was a foster-daughter of Princess Griselda Vishnevetski."

These, and such names as Rzendzian, Szczaniecki, Hreptyoff, Podlyasye, Nyevyarovski, and lots of other ski's, brighten every page like a crop of bristly thistles, and afford fine gymnastic exercise for eye and tongue. If we listened to a Polish reader of these words, they would sound like sweet music. Madame Modjeska, the famous actress and gentle-born lady, was asked to favor a public assembly with a recitation in her native tongue. She gave them a piece so finely intoned from the tragic to the gay that her hearers were moved to enthusiasm. Then she confessed her amiable sport; she had simply counted from one up to fifty-seven in the Polish tongue. The title of the third book in the trilogy suggests that the Michael is either a descendant of the Pagan god or some relative of the Archangel, but Mr. Curtin lets us know that Pan is simply Polish for Mr., Pani for Mrs., and



Panna for Miss. The volumes are finely turned out, with a photogravure portrait, maps, and the elaborate historical introductions already referred to. Taken together, they form a splendid monument to the genius of the most largely and variously gifted of Polish patriots, and of living novelists the wide world over.

HANDBOOK TO THE LABOR LAW OF THE UNITED STATES. By F. J. Stimson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

The author is well qualified to make this digest of the laws affecting workingmen, as he has made a special study of the subject and has already published a series of lectures delivered by him at the Plymouth School of Ethics on the history of labor laws, on employment contracts, and the issue of injunctions during strikes. The present volume discusses in legal form, and concisely, the constitutional right to freedom of contract, the limitations of police interference, the mutual obligations of employer and employee, the law on hours of labor, on the employment of women and children, on the legal and political privileges of laboring people, on profit-sharing, co-operation, the Factory Acts, the legal status of trades unions, the Anti-Trust and Inter-State Commerce laws, and the scope of arbitration boards. This is a very extensive area to cover, but it is covered with a thoroughness which seems complete to the lay mind. The author takes a sympathetic view of labor, its trials and obstacles of every kind. He has adapted his work to serve as a simple and readable handbook, within the comprehension of every intelligent workingman; at the same time the multitude of its citations of cases and references to court decisions makes it a valuable text-book for the lawyer or student. The labor question in its relation to common law has of late years become a serious problem for the community at large. The efforts of various State legislatures to settle it are here examined and compared, and also the law of England. Admitting that decisions have come from various States that neutralize each other as authoritative, Mr. Stimson proceeds to remark that while the employers and workmen are free to combine not to pay more, or not to work for less, than a fixed sum, so long as they do not coerce others to join them, "the tendency of American courts has been almost universally to prohibit combinations to limit price (by employers or manufacturers of articles). All these decisions rest not on the law of labor combinations, but on the old common-law principles of combinations in restraint of trade, and this tendency of the courts has been much accelerated in the United States by the popular prejudice against trusts and by the numerous and radical statutes making all trusts or trade combinations illegal. The result is that while the American courts generally have a tendency to destroy combinations among employers, many of them have an equally strong tendency to uphold combinations among employees, and when based upon the vague principle of restraint of trade, as there is frequently no radical difference between the case of employers and employees, their decisions become irreconcilable." The moral of this and a number of similar failures in the operation of law is that the people have it in their own power to elect legislators who shall be their faithful servants and not their unfaithful bosses. When they think well to fulfil this duty to themselves, the courts will be strengthened for their duty of seeing that the laws, good or bad, are enforced.

#### THE RT. HON. JAMES BRYCE, M. P., REPLIES TO "THE AMERICAN."

SHOULD TEACHERS AND STUDENTS BE ALLOWED TO READ ABOUT  
"THE CRIME OF 1873?"

IN THE AMERICAN of January 23 a review appeared of the Rt. Hon. James Bryce's *American Commonwealth* in its single volume form as abridged for college and school use. It was remarked that a citation made by the author from Professor Woodrow Wilson's *Congressional Government* in the original edition, is cut down to one-half in the abridged edition. The passage now omitted made pointed reference to the fact that "several members of Congress had previously (to 1875) complained that the demonetization scheme of 1873 had been pushed surreptitiously through the courses of its passages, Congress having been tricked into accepting it, doing it scarcely knew what." The review remarked upon the withdrawal from the new edition of this passage, which has special significance in the present state of affairs, and asked "why should so impartial a man as Mr. Bryce proved himself in his original work, written for men competent to check his statements, be now made to appear either half ignorant or wholly biased in this adaptation of his

book for college students?" It was also suggested that "the striking out of this passage indicates that partisan pressure, or bias, or may it be only timidity, has meddled injuriously with the historical value of the book."

The three words which we italicize above show that the criticism in the review was primarily aimed at the American collaborator of Mr. Bryce in making this abridged edition, Mr. Jesse Macy, Professor of Constitutional History and Political Economy in Iowa College. It seemed unlikely that the author, away in Europe, would appreciate the force of the omitted passage as keenly as his associate, living in the thick of the currency fight, and possibly feeling a deeper interest in it than as a mere illustration, by Professor Wilson, of Congressional stupidity. In any case the omission of it challenges remark, and as Mr. Bryce is responsible for this edition, his attention was called to the criticism. His reply, dated from the House of Commons, February 3d, opens with a kindly recognition of THE AMERICAN, which we greatly value, and then proceeds as follows:

"The only point in your review which seems to call for any special notice from me is the suggestion made that 'partisan pressure, or bias, or timidity,' has been the motive for the omission of the latter part of a note citing a passage from Prof. Woodrow Wilson's book. No such motive crossed my mind, or either would or could have affected me. I have no motive for bias in American affairs, and no reason for timidity, nor has anyone ever sought to put pressure on me. The sole ground of the omission was that the reference to these acts seemed unsuited for an edition intended for schools and colleges, as involving more minute knowledge of Congressional legislation than could be expected from many school teachers or usefully given to boys. This appears to me a sufficient and proper ground for the omission in the abridged edition. But I have left the whole citation to stand in the large edition which is being sold to-day. Again thanking you for your courtesy, I am,

"Faithfully yours,

"J. BRYCE."

While to American readers it appears obvious that the reason given for omitting a part might with equal lack of force have been offered to screen the omission of the whole footnote, we have far too high respect for Mr. Bryce to suggest anything worse than an oversight on his part, as "the reference to these acts" still remains in the abridged footnote.

#### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- A MINION OF THE MOON. By T. W. Speight. pp. 231. New York: New Amsterdam Book Co. \$1.25; paper, 50 cents.  
ON THE FACE OF THE WATERS; A Tale of the Mutiny. By Flora Annie Steel. pp. 475. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.50.  
ON MANY SEAS; The Life and Exploits of a Yankee Sailor. By Fredrick Benton Williams. Edited by his friend, William Stone Booth. pp. 417. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.50.  
THE FALL OF THE CONGO ARABS. By Sidney Langford Hinde. pp. 308. London: Methuen & Co. 11s 6d.

#### ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

Mr. Hamilton Mabie makes a tolerably safe venture in the direction of prophecy when he announces that "the literary movement of the last three or four years has not brought forth many notable books"; but, he adds, it has marked the close of one epoch of production, and predicts the approach of another. The more poetic Irish proverb puts it better—"Dark's the hour before the dawn." If he had called it the literary stagnation it would have been nearer to the truth. The fact is, there is far too much talk being done about this sorry business, as well as too many books written. The way to make sure of a literary movement is to move, and stop talking of moving. Log-rolling, friendly booming, and the development of the puff oblique have together done more to hinder true progress than any other cause. When the great books begin to reappear, they will do their own heralding.

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Literary criticism has vastly improved in quality and style over the sort of thing that used to be good enough for *Blackwood's Magazine*. Coventry Patmore was a true and refined, if not quite a great poet. This is how he was treated by Blackwood in 1844: "The weakest inanity ever perpetrated in rhyme by the vilest poetaster of any former generation becomes masculine verse

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8 vo. \$4. Our price \$1.35.  
Memoirs of a Protestant Translated by Oliver  
Goldsmith, with an introduction by Austin  
Dobson. 2 vols. \$2.50. Our price 75c.  
British Letters. Illustrative of character and  
social life. Edited by Mason. 3 vols. Gilt  
tops. \$4.50. Our price \$1.60.  
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erature. Edited by Mason. 3 vols., gilt tops.  
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times to the invention of printing. G. H.  
Putnam. \$1.25. Our price 35c.  
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wood. \$1.50. Our price 35c.  
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related by American Journalists. \$1. Our  
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water looks almost sparkling after filter-  
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when contrasted with the nauseous pulings of Mr. Patmore's muse.

Nothing is so tenacious of life as the spawn of frogs—  
nothing is so vivacious as corruption, until it has reached its last  
stage. Coventry Patmore's volume has reached the ultimate ter-  
minus of poetical degradation; and our conclusion, as well as our  
hope, is that the fry must become extinct in him. His poetry  
(thank Heaven!) cannot corrupt into anything worse than  
itself."

\* \* \*

"The Babe B. A." is the title of a volume descriptive of  
Cambridge (England) student life, written by Mr. Edward F.  
Benson, the author of "Dodo." The publishers are Messrs. G.  
P. Putnam's Sons. It is the intention of the Messrs. Putnam's  
Sons to publish a series of volumes descriptive of collegiate life,  
in Heidelberg, Bologna, and Paris.

\* \* \*

The American Baptist Publication Society of Philadelphia  
has published "Christianity and Property," by Dr. A. E. Waffle,  
and will issue shortly "The Conservative Principle in our Litera-  
ture," by Dr. William R. Williams.

\* \* \*

Miss Mary H. Kingsley, who is the niece, not the daughter,  
of the late Canon Kingsley, more than holds her own among the  
band of dashing African explorers, both as an adventurer and  
author. In her book, "Travels in West Africa," published by  
the Macmillan Company, she tells of a sleepless night she  
experienced when sojourning with the Fan tribe. They are of  
superior intelligence, but have low tastes, being cannibals. She  
writes:

"The town at last grew quiet. Waking up again, I noticed  
the smell in the hut was violent, from being shut up, I suppose,  
and it had an unmistakable organic origin. Knocking the ash  
end off the smouldering bushlight that lay burning on the floor,  
I investigated and tracked it to those bags, so I took down the  
biggest one, and carefully noted exactly how the tie had been  
put around its mouth; for these things are important, and often  
mean a lot. I then shook its contents out in my hat, for fear of  
losing anything of value. They were a human hand, three big  
toes, four eyes, two ears and other portions of the human frame.  
The hand was fresh, the others only so-so, and shriveled.  
Replacing them, I tied the bag up, and hung it up again. I  
subsequently learned that, although the Fans will eat their fellow  
friendly tribes-folk, yet they like to keep a little something  
belonging to them as a memento."

\* \* \*

There is a considerable fund already in hand towards the  
Boston monument to Francis Scott Key, who wrote "The Star  
Spangled Banner." A bill is on its way in Congress to declare  
this the national song. The melody, one of the most dignified of  
national airs, is taken from Cherubini's opera "Anacreon in  
Heaven," produced in Paris about eighty years ago.

\* \* \*

We mentioned some time ago that Smith, Elder & Co.,  
backed by the London Publishers' Association, had commenced  
legal proceedings against the *Review of Reviews* for infringement  
of copyright by epitomizing Mrs. Humphry Ward's novel, with  
wholesale extracts, under pretence of reviewing it. Mr. Stead,  
the editor, is one of the strictest moralists of the many who wield  
the lash on the public at large, yet he not only felt free to boil  
down Mrs. Ward's book in this form, but he actually published  
a penny abridgement of it. On being rudely awakened to the fact  
that this amounts to vulgar robbery, he nobly confessed his guilt,  
submitted to judgment, and has pledged himself never to suck  
the brains of any author, nor extract the body of any publisher's  
book, without asking their leave. Thus progresses the evolution  
of conscience in trade.

\* \* \*

The editors of the *Critic*, New York, offer a prize of \$15  
worth of books for a selection of the best twelve short stories of  
American authorship. Competitors must send in their lists of  
titles by March 30. Their task is appalling to think of.

\* \* \*

That powerful work of historic imagination, "Quo Vadis,"  
by Sienkiewicz, has gone through six editions in two months.

\* \* \*

England is paying high tributes to the public spirit displayed  
by the University of Pennsylvania in having sent out the Exca-

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Buffalo Day Express } daily 9.00 A. M.  
Parlor and Dining Car }  
Black Diamond Express } week-days  
For Buffalo (Parlor Car) } 12.30 P. M.  
Buffalo and Chicago Express } daily 7.30 P. M.  
Sleeping Cars } 9.45 P. M.  
Williamsport Express, week-days, 8.35, 10.10  
A. M. 4.05 P. M. Daily (sleeper), 11.30 P. M.  
Lock Haven, Clearfield and Bellefonte Express  
(Sleeper), daily, except Saturday, 11.30 P. M.

### FOR NEW YORK.

Leave Reading Terminal, 7.30 (two-hour train),  
8.30, 9.30, 10.30, 11.00 A. M., 12.45 (dining car), 1.30,  
3.05, 4.00, 4.05, 5.05, 6.10, 8.10 (dining car) P. M.,  
12.05 night. Sundays—8.30, 9.30, 11.50 (dining  
car) A. M., 1.30, 3.55, 6.10, 8.10 (dining car) P. M.,  
12.05 night.

Leave 24th and Chestnut sts., 4.00, 11.04 A. M.,  
12.57 (dining car), 3.08, 4.10, 6.12, 8.19 (dining car),  
11.58 P. M. Sundays—4.00 A. M., 12.04 (dining  
car), 4.10, 6.12, 8.19 (dining car), 11.58 P. M.

Leave New York, foot of Liberty street, 4.30,  
8.00, 9.00, 10.00, 11.30 A. M., 1.30, 2.00, 3.30, 4.00  
(two-hour train), 4.30 (two-hour train), 5.00, 6.00,  
7.30, 9.00 P. M., 12.15 night. Sundays—4.30, 9.00,  
10.00, 11.30 A. M., 2.00, 4.00, 6.00 P. M., 12.15 night.

Parlor cars on all day express trains and sleep-  
ing cars on night trains to and from New York.

FOR BETHLEHEM, EASTON AND POINTS  
IN LEHIGH AND WYOMING VALLEYS, 6.05,  
8.00, 9.00, 11.00 A. M., 12.30, 2.00, 4.30, 5.30, 7.30,  
9.45 P. M. Sundays—6.25, 8.32, 9.00 A. M., 1.10,  
4.20, 7.30, 9.45 P. M. (9.45 P. M. does not connect  
for Easton.)

### FOR SCHUYLKILL VALLEY POINTS.

For Phoenixville and Pottstown—Express, 8.35,  
10.10 A. M., 12.45, 4.05, 6.30, 11.30 P. M. Accom-  
modation, 7.45, 11.06 A. M., 1.42, 4.35, 5.53, 7.20 P. M.  
Sundays—Express, 4.00, 9.05 A. M., 11.30 P. M.  
Accommodation, 7.00, 11.35 A. M., 6.15 P. M.

For Reading—Express, 8.35, 10.10 A. M., 12.45,  
4.05, 6.30, 11.30 P. M. Accommodation, 4.20, 7.45 A. M.,  
1.42, 4.35, 5.53, 7.20 P. M. Sundays—Express, 4.00,  
9.00, 11.00 A. M., 1.30, 2.00, 4.30, 5.30, 7.30,  
9.45 P. M. Accommodation, 7.00 A. M., 6.15  
P. M.

For Lebanon and Harrisburg—Express, 8.35,  
10.10 A. M., 4.05, 6.30 P. M. Accommodation, 4.20 A. M.,  
1.42, 7.30 P. M. Sundays—Express, 4.00 A. M.  
Accommodation, 7.00 A. M., 6.15 P. M.

For Gettysburg, 3.35, 10.10 A. M.  
For Pottsville—Express, 8.35, 10.10 A. M., 4.05,  
6.30, 11.30 P. M. Accommodation, 4.20, 7.45 A. M., 1.42  
P. M. Sundays—Express, 4.00, 9.05 A. M., 11.30  
P. M. Accommodation, 7.00 A. M., 6.15 P. M.

For Shamokin and Williamsport—Express,  
8.35, 10.10 A. M., 4.05, 11.30 P. M. Sundays—Ex-  
press 9.05 A. M., 11.30 P. M. Additional for  
Shamokin—Express, week-days, 6.30 P. M. Accom-  
modation, 4.20 A. M. Sundays—Express, 4.00 A. M.  
For Danville and Bloomsburg, 10.10 A. M.

### FOR ATLANTIC CITY.

Leave Chestnut street and South street wharves:  
Week-days—Express, 9.00 A. M., 2.00, 4.00, 6.00  
P. M. Accommodation, 8.00 A. M., 6.30 P. M. Sun-  
days—Express, 9.00, 10.00 A. M. Accommodation, 8.00  
A. M., 4.45 P. M.

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vating Committee to Babylon, whose researches have been so brilliantly successful. Dr. Herman V. Hilprecht came to this country in 1886, for the express purpose of being on the editorial force of *The Sunday School Times*. He has continued in that position to the present time, although he is now also Professor of Assyriology in the University of Pennsylvania. For the past eight years he has been connected with the Babylonian Exploration Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. He was on the first expedition to Nippur, or Nuffar, in 1888, and he has repeatedly been to Constantinople in connection with this work since that time, while responsible for all the deciphering of the inscriptions discovered at Nuffar.

\*\*\*

According to a writer on music, the origin of that well-known, but rarely well-sung melody, "We Won't Go Home Till Morning," better known as the tune of "He's a Jolly Good Fellow," is a greater mystery than the source of the Nile. Its age is certainly venerable, for when Napoleon's army was in Egypt, in 1799, and the band struck up this tune, its effect on the Bedouins was electrical. They leaped and shouted and embraced one another deliriously. They averred that they were listening to the oldest and most popular tune of their people. It is thought that the tune was brought to Europe from the dark continent in the eleventh century by the Crusaders.

\*\*\*

A Scotch visitor to the Carlyles in Cheyne Row was much struck with the sound-proof room which the sage had contrived for himself in the attic, lighted from the top, and where no sight or sound from outside could penetrate. "My certes, this is fine," cried the old friend, with unconscious sarcasm. "Here ye may write and study all the rest of your life, and no human being be one bit the wiser."

#### Stop-over Privilege at Washington.

A ten-day stop-over at Washington, D. C., is now granted on all through tickets between the East and West, via Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Stop-over will also be granted on the return journey made on round-trip tickets, within the final limit of such tickets, but not exceeding ten days. Passengers will deposit their tickets with the Ticket Agent at B. & O. R. R. Station in Washington, who will retain them until the journey is to be resumed, when they will be made good for continuous passage to destination by extension or exchange. This arrangement will doubtless be greatly appreciated by the travelling public, because it will permit the holders of through tickets to make a brief visit to the National Capital without additional outlay for railroad fare.—*Adv.*

#### TRAVEL NOTES.

**CAUTION TO TRAVELLERS IN FRANCE.** Travellers to the Riviera are having a rough time of it at the Paris Gare du Nord. It seems the custom house officials are not satisfied with the examination of small baggage at Calais and Boulogne, but lie in wait at the Paris station and stop certain of the passengers and examine their bags. One person, well known in London, a few days ago had his bag opened, and in it were found two small packages with twenty-five cigars. They were promptly taken away from him and he was made to pay a fine of \$20. Another, not appreciating the matches, which are a government monopoly in France, had in his bag a box containing a thousand wax matches made in England. They were not taken from him, but they were counted, and he was compelled to pay a franc for each match—\$200 in all.

\*\*\*

**JERUSALEM: ITS SEAMY SIDE.** For thirty years or so, Mr. Ewing Ritchie has been a staff writer on the *Christian World*, London. This fact lends peculiar force to his account of his recent visit to the Holy City, from which the following extract is taken: "You land at Jaffa, take the train to Jerusalem, and in due time find yourself outside the Jaffa Gate, guarded by Turkish soldiers. Amidst a dirty, many-colored mob of donkeys, camels, and people exhausted by the heat, suffocated by the dust and bewildered by the noise, you are at the Holy City, as lying superstition terms it. It certainly is not Jerusalem the golden, but is very much the reverse. Its smells are indescribable, and to drink its waters is death. Your first wonder is why David and

Solomon should ever have made it a royal residence at all. It is a city set upon a hill, but it is dominated by hills all round, where no verdure is seen, and where the black goat alone finds a scanty existence. Climb one of these hills, and you look down on the gray, stony city surrounded by a high wall, over which rise minarets, and mosques and church spires in wild confusion. There is nothing to charm the eye there. Enter through one of the gates and you are still more disappointed. You wander in hopeless confusion, shut in on all sides by lofty buildings, with no windows to speak of, only here and there a door; or you plunge into a street with a dark awning, which serves as a bazaar, with shops of all kinds around, where so dense is the crowd that it is with difficulty you make your way. Poverty seems to be the prevailing characteristic of the place. Even the shops fail to attract.

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"Altogether the city has a miserable aspect, inhabited by Jewish and Christian fanatics, who would cut each other's throats were it not for the Turk, who seems to regard the rival sects with profound indifference. And yet thither the tribes repair, and the population outside the city walls increases by leaps and bounds, while you meet at every turn American and English tourists, chiefly feminine, whose eyes beam with enthusiasm and whose bosoms burn with holy rapture as they are dragged from one pretended sacred site to another. It is an awful sight to see the pilgrims at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as they creep along the slippery floors on their hands and knees. Every shrine there, and almost every stone, has been bathed with countless tears and passionately kissed by wayworn pilgrims from every country under heaven. The legends, concocted by priests, incredible as they are, are greedily swallowed, and every one is more or less interested in the perpetration of pious frauds. For the Jews, Jerusalem is the holy city, and there they come to die and be buried in its sacred soil. One can understand that feeling on the part of the Jew, and wealthy Jews have done much to strengthen it by their generous charities to their poorer brethren. Just outside the walls, as you go on the road to Bethlehem, you cannot but admire the little village of neat modern dwellings, built by Sir Moses Montefiore for the poorer classes of the community of which he was such a distinguished representative. The Mohammedans also regard Jerusalem as one of their four holy cities, only second to Mecca. But really, Protestants, when they come to Jerusalem, seem, as a rule, to leave all their senses behind them. None are more ready to swallow all that is told them, and kneel, and weep, and pray as if monkish tales were as worthy of belief as Holy Writ.

"The fact is, the Holy City is one gigantic fraud. All we know is, that it is there Christ lived and labored, and suffered and died. Not a stone remains of the Jerusalem over whose impending fate He shed bitter tears. The cunning of an interested priest has done all the rest, from the discovery of the true Cross, by the mother of Constantine, to the Holy Fire which is seen at Easter by a panting, perspiring crowd in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. We are modestly represented by a Bishop, who has a small salary, and apparently less influence. The Greek Church is the strongest branch of the Christians in Jerusalem, having eighteen monasteries, with schools, churches, a hospital, hospice and a printing press. The Russian Church, on the Mount of Olives, is the greatest ecclesiastical building in the city, of the modern type. The Roman Catholics have fine Churches, monasteries and convents. The Armenian Patriarch resides in his convent between the Jaffa and the Zion gates. The Latins, Abyssinians and Copts are also well represented. The Knights Templar of the Holy Sepulchre—to which the Jew is denied admission—a Roman Catholic body under the patronage of the Emperor of Austria, have a fine convent just outside the walls. Priests and nuns and sisters of mercy meet you at every turn, and there, where Solomon built his Temple, stands the great Turkish mosque. The staple trade of the place seems proselytism, and it is only the pig of a Turk, as the Jew calls the Turkish soldier, keeps the peace between them.

#### Through Sleeping Cars to Toledo.

Commencing February 21st, the B. & O. R. R., in connection with the B. & O. S. W. and the C. H. V. & T., will establish a daily line of Pullman Sleeping Cars between Baltimore, Washington, Columbus and Toledo, via Parkersburg and Athens. The west-bound train will leave New York 5.00 P. M., Philadelphia 7.40 P. M., Chester 8.00 P. M., Wilmington 8.19 P. M., Baltimore 10.15 P. M., Washington 11.25 P. M. and arrive Columbus 2.55 and Toledo 6.26 the next afternoon. This is the best service ever offered between Washington, Central Ohio and Michigan, and will doubtless prove to be popular with the public.—*Advt.*



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#### SPECIAL TRIP TO CALIFORNIA.

Leaving Philadelphia Monday, March 15, and visiting Chicago, all the Leading Cities and Resorts of California, including Pasadena, Echo Mountain, Coronado Beach, San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Cruz, San Jose, Summit of Mount Hamilton, San Rafael and the Sierra Nevada; and returning, Salt Lake City, Glenwood Springs, Manitou and Denver. Sojourns at some of the **Finest Hotels in America**, including the Auditorium, Hotel Green in Pasadena, Alpine Tavern or Echo Mountain House, Hotel del Coronado, The Westminster or Hotel Van Nuys in Los Angeles, Palace Hotel in San Francisco, Hotel del Monte, Sea Beach Hotel in Santa Cruz, Hotel Vendome in San Jose, Hotel Rafael, The Knutsford in Salt Lake City, Cliff House or Barker's Hotel at Manitou Springs, and the Brown Palace Hotel in Denver. A **Delightful Round of 40 Days** under personal escort, and in leisurely journeys, and without waste of time.

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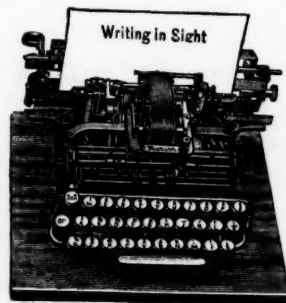
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